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# A Relief-Cut Bowl from Besalú (Girona, Spain)

Alberto Velasco and David Whitehouse

**A**MONG THE TREASURES of the Museu d'Art in Girona is a colorless relief-cut bowl decorated with two pairs of birds (Figs. 1–4). The bowl was found in 1936 in the church of Sant Vicenç at Besalú in the *comarca* (district) of Garrotxa, northeastern Catalonia (Spain). It is usually attributed to the ninth or 10th century. Over the years, it has been identified as both rock crystal and glass, and as “Hispano-Arab” and Iranian. This article describes the bowl (which is certainly made of glass) and the circumstances of its discovery. It also discusses where the bowl was made and when it may have been taken to Besalú.

The several authors who described the discovery of the bowl agree that it was found, in a cavity of the apse of the church of Sant Vicenç, by Joan Subias, the local representative of the Comisión del Patrimonio Artístico y Arqueológico

(Commission for Artistic and Archaeological Heritage) of Girona, after the destruction of the Baroque altar that was the focal point of the presbytery and had concealed the cavity. The bowl is said to have contained gold coins, which have since disappeared. Despite the report of coins, it is thought that the object may have been a lipsanoteca (receptacle for relics) placed in the cavity when an earlier altar was consecrated.<sup>1</sup> The discovery of the bowl took place during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), in the course of which numerous churches were destroyed throughout the country. Sant Vicenç did not escape; it was damaged by fire in July 1936. At the end of the Civil War, the bowl was deposited in the Museu Diocesà in Girona. When the Museu d'Art was created in 1979, the bowl, together with other objects in the Diocesan Museum, was transferred to the new institution.<sup>2</sup>

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*Acknowledgment.* We are grateful to Elizabeth Whitehouse for translating the sections written by Alberto Velasco.

1. The first person to collect information about the discovery of the bowl and the coins was Lambert Font, who witnessed the find: Lambert Font, *Gerona: La Catedral y el Museo Diocesano*, Girona: Editorial Carlomagno, 1952, p. xxxiii, no. 140. See also Jordi Vigué Viñas, “Sant Vincenç de Besalú,” in *Catalunya Romànica*, v. 4, *La Garrotxa*, Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1990, pp. 188–189; Manuel Casamar, “Vas de Besalú,” in *Thesaurus/Estudis: L'Art als Bisbats de Catalunya, 1000–1800*, Barcelona: Fundació Caixa de Pensions, 1986, p. 17, no. 1; and *idem*, *Cataluña Medieval*, Barcelona: Lunwerg Editores-Generalitat de Catalunya, pp. 24–25, no. 1.1.

2. On March 9, 1937, Subias and other volunteers made an inventory of the art works recovered from the churches of Besalú, which had been moved to the cathedral in Girona. Among these items, only one glass object appears, and from its description, it is not the bowl from Sant Vincenç: “an iridescent bowl

of four *nances* (7 centimeters).” On this inventory, see Xavier Solà Colomer and Miquel Àngel Fumanal Pagès, “< . . . del més pur estil romànic >. Sant Vicenç entre els segles XIX i XX: Visites il·lustres, robatoris, destruccions i restauracions,” in *La parròquia de Sant Vicenç, un eix religiós, social i artístic en la història de Besalú*, Besalú: Ajuntament de Besalú–Diputació de Girona, 2008, pp. 242–244. The dimensions that are offered in this description, together with the fact that the object had loops, allow us to identify the object with the so-called “Lipsanoteca 1” preserved in the Museu d'Art de Girona (inv. 67), whose provenance was unknown. On this glass lipsanoteca, see Anna Orriols Alsina and Jordi Vigué Viñas, “Lipsanoteca 1,” in *Museu d'Art de Girona. Tresor de la Catedral de Girona. Museu Diocesà d'Urgell. Museu Frederic Marès*, Catalunya Romànica, v. 23, Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988, p. 109.



FIG. 1. The bowl from Besalú. One of the pairs of birds. Property of Bisbat de Girona, exhibited at the Museu d'Art de Girona. (Photo: © Museu d'Art de Girona [Rafel Bosch])



FIG. 2. The bowl from Besalú. One of the motifs separating the pairs of birds. Property of Bisbat de Girona, exhibited at the Museu d'Art de Girona. (Photo: © Museu d'Art de Girona [Rafel Bosch])

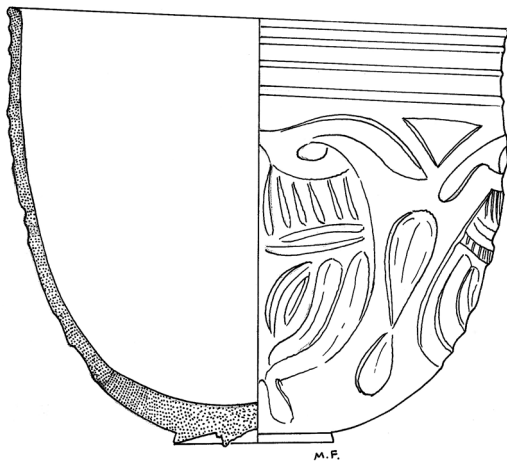


FIG. 3. The bowl from Besalú. One of the pairs of birds. Scale: 1:4. (© Museu d'Art de Girona [Mercè Ferrer])

### Bowl with Two Pairs of Birds

H. 11.2 cm, D. (rim) 13.1 cm.

Almost colorless, with yellowish tinge; very many small bubbles. Blown; relief-cut.

The bowl is almost hemispherical, but the height is greater than the radius. The rim has a rounded lip. The wall (Th. 0.4 cm before cut-

ting) is almost vertical for the uppermost 5.5 cm, below which it curves down and in with a progressively shallower profile. The base is in the form of a disk (D. 4.6 cm) with a vertical side (H. 0.25 cm) and, underneath, a concentric countersunk disk (D. 2.4 cm). A rough pontil mark projects below the plane of the base, causing the vessel to lean slightly to one side.

The relief-cut decoration (Th. 0.1–0.2 cm) consists of a single register bordered at the top by three continuous horizontal ribs, 0.9–2.6 cm below the lip. There is no lower border. The register, which is rather crowded, contains two pairs of birds, seen in profile. In each pair, the birds face each other and are separated by geometric motifs. Although they differ in detail, the birds are closely similar. They have small heads with countersunk circular eyes, drooping beaks that are rounded at the tip, and large crests with expanded, wedge-shaped ends. The bodies are small, with short, almost vestigial legs and no feet. The wings, which extend horizontally backward from the bottom of the neck, are oval, with pointed ends. The tails, like the wings, are oval and have pointed tips.

Each bird is outlined in relief; the outline of the throat, the breast, and the belly is double.

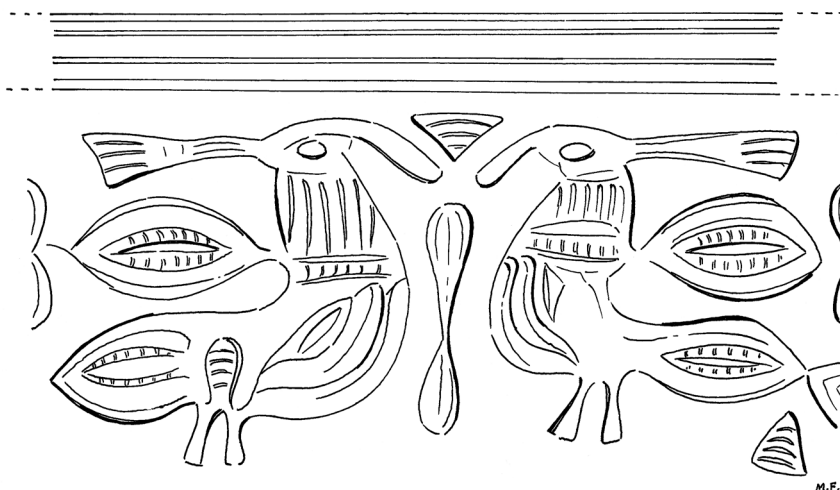


FIG. 4. *The bowl from Besalú. Section and elevation. Scale: 1:4.*  
(© Museu d'Art de Girona [Mercè Ferrer])

Inside the outlines, the treatment is simple. The crest is bisected by one vertical cut, with one or two horizontal cuts on either side of it. The neck has one horizontal cut at the top, below which are six or seven vertical cuts, followed by another horizontal cut and a narrow “collar” embellished with short vertical cuts. The body contains two elements: a triangle or pointed oval and, above the legs, a tear-shaped motif filled with horizontal cuts. The wing has a pointed oval with notched outlines, as does the tail.

In each pair, the birds are separated by two motifs. Between and above their beaks is an isosceles triangle with the apex pointing downward, a straight base, concave sides, and an interior filled with horizontal cuts. Below the triangle is a tall motif shaped like a narrow hourglass, with a downward-pointing tear-shaped element at the top, a short and straight section, and an upward-pointing tear-shaped element at the bottom.

The pairs of birds are separated by smaller hourglass-shaped motifs between the wingtips, and by isosceles triangles with the apex pointing upward between and below the tails.

The bowl is intact, except for two very small chips in the base. The outside of the rim is covered with a black encrustation (see note 14), and the lower part of the interior has pale iridescent weathering. Otherwise, the surface is dull.

### *Where Was the Bowl Made?*

While it is generally agreed that the bowl was made in the ninth or 10th century, opinions about the place of manufacture have ranged from Iran to southern Spain.<sup>3</sup> In the following paragraphs, we state the case against concluding that the bowl was made in Iran (or in Egypt or some other part of Western Asia), and this conclusion leads to the suspicion that it may have been made in some part of the Maghreb (that is, in northern Africa west of Egypt) or in Muslim Spain.

For the purpose of this discussion, we are treating the relief-cut glass attributed to Iran, Egypt, and places between them as a unit because the similarities between objects found throughout these regions prevent us from making specific regional attributions. Thus, in the catalog of the 2001 exhibition “Glass of the Sultans,”

3. It was described as “Hispano-àrab” by, for example, Jaime Marqués Casanovas, *Guía del Museo Diocesano de Gerona*, 2nd ed., Girona: Imprenta Gerona, 1955, p. 43, and Narcís-Jordi Aragó, *Un museu a contrallum: anvers i revers de 60 peces del MD'A*, Girona: Museu d'Art de Girona, 1993, pp. 21–23. However, it was attributed to Iran in Casamar, “Vas de Besalú” [note 1], p. 17, and Núria de Dalmaes and Antoni José i Pitarch, *Els inicis i l'art romànic s. IX–XII*, *Història de l'art català*, v. 1, Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1986, p. 60.



FIG. 5. *The Corning Ewer*. H. 16 cm. *The Corning Museum of Glass* (85.1.1, purchased with funds from the Clara S. Peck Endowment). (Photo: *The Corning Museum of Glass*)

the seven ninth- to 10th-century relief-cut objects were attributed to various workshops, two “probably [in] Iraq,” three in “Western Asia, probably Iran,” six “probably [or “perhaps” in] Iran,” and six in “Western Asia or Egypt.”<sup>4</sup> We simply do not know where such objects were made, not least because most published examples were acquired in the marketplace and we have no idea where they were found.

We reviewed a sample of some 300 examples of relief-cut glass, mostly fragments, that are believed to be the products of workshops in Western Asia and Egypt.<sup>5</sup> The great majority of the objects are colorless, but the sample also includes a handful of strongly colored monochrome objects, and cameo glass. Our review confirmed the broad-brush analysis of the characteristics of Islamic relief-cut glass based on 14 complete or somewhat complete objects and 244 fragments in *The Corning Museum of Glass* and

published in 2010.<sup>6</sup> This impression must be approached with the caveat that we do not know whether they represent the full repertoire of relief-cut ornament or whether their selection was based on the preferences of dealers and buyers.

In general terms, unlike the bowl from Besalú, these objects have thin walls and the ornament has narrow raised outlines (Fig. 5). Parts of outlines and other linear motifs are preserved on 235 of the pieces at Corning, and on 162 of them (68.9 percent of the sample) the raised lines are embellished with closely spaced notches. One hundred fifteen pieces (44.6 percent) have zoomorphic or probable zoomorphic decoration. Parts of outlines and other lines are found on 108 of these, on 92 of which (85.2 percent) they are notched. We conclude, therefore, that

4. Stefano Carboni and David Whitehouse, with contributions by Robert H. Brill and William Gudenrath, *Glass of the Sultans*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art in association with The Corning Museum of Glass, Benaki Museum, and Yale University Press, 2001, pp. 157–159 and 172–185, nos. 78–90.

5. The sample consisted of 260 objects, mostly fragments, in *The Corning Museum of Glass* (David Whitehouse, *Islamic Glass in The Corning Museum of Glass*, v. 1, *Objects with Scratch-Engraved and Wheel-Cut Ornament*, Corning: the museum, 2010, pp. 176–280, nos. 296–491, and pp. 296–328, nos. 522–585); 26 fragments in the Benaki Museum, Athens (Christoph W. Clairmont, *Catalogue of Ancient and Islamic Glass, Based on the Notes of C. J. Lamm*, Athens: Benaki Museum, 1977, pp. 98–103, nos. 324–349); 17 objects and fragments in the exhibition “Glass of the Sultans” (Carboni and Whitehouse [note 4], pp. 172–185, nos. 78a–90, pp. 188–190, nos. 93 and 94, pp. 191–192, no. 96, and pp. 196–197, no. 101); 10 objects found during excavations at Fustat (Old Cairo), Egypt, between 1964 and 1980 (George T. Scanlon and Ralph H. Pinder-Wilson, *Fustat Glass of the Early Islamic Period: Finds Excavated by the American Research Center in Egypt, 1964–1980*, London: Al-Jayir World of Islam Trust, 2001, pp. 99–105, no. 43a–j); seven objects in the al-Sabah Collection, Kuwait (Stefano Carboni, *Glass from Islamic Lands*, New York: Thames & Hudson, 2001, pp. 82–91, nos. 18a–22); six objects in the David Collection, Copenhagen (Kjeld von Folsach, *Art from the World of Islam in the David Collection*, Copenhagen: the collection, 2001, pp. 207–209, nos. 308–313); and five objects in the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin (Jens Kröger, *Glas* [Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin], v. 1 of *Islamische Kunst: Loseblatt-katalog unpublizierter Werke aus Deutschen Museen*, ed. K. Brisch, Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1984, pp. 223–232, nos. 193–197). Several objects appear in more than one of these publications; even so, the total is about 300.

6. Whitehouse [note 5], pp. 329–331.



in Western Asia and Egypt notched lines are a common feature of all relief-cut glass and they are particularly common on relief-cut glass with zoomorphic ornament. The contrast with the bowl from Besalú is striking: in the latter case, the outlines are broad rather than narrow, and none of them are notched.

Forty-eight (41.7 percent) of the Corning objects with zoomorphic ornament depict birds. Thus, birds appear frequently on relief-cut glass from Western Asia and Egypt, and we have a sample that is large enough to show us how they are represented. Only two of the birds have crests, and none have any of the other, rather exaggerated characteristics of the birds on the bowl from Besalú: the drooping beak, the pointed oval wing extended horizontally, and the pointed oval tail. While it is reasonable to object that not all birds have crests and so the presence or absence of a crest depends on the species being represented (are they peacocks on the bowl from Besalú?), the other features, especially in combination, are likely to be at least partly functions of style.

In a nutshell, neither the execution nor the representation of the birds on the bowl from Besalú has much in common with relief-cut glass from Western Asia and Egypt, and it seems unlikely that the bowl was made in those regions. It is tempting, therefore, to suggest that the object originated somewhere farther west, perhaps in one of the great medieval centers of power and patronage, such as Kairouan in modern Tunisia or Córdoba in Spain.

The date of the bowl from Besalú is less of a problem. Glass bowls of a similar shape have been excavated at Madīnat az-Zahrā, 10 kilometers west of Córdoba, the site of a palace-city



FIG. 6. *Relief-cut bowl from Madīnat az-Zahrā. H. 7.8 cm. (Photo: Conjunto Arqueológico Madīnat al-Zahra)*

founded between 936 and 940 by Caliph ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān III (r. 912–961). Both Córdoba and Madīnat az-Zahrā were sacked in 1010.<sup>7</sup> The buildings at Madīnat az-Zahrā and the objects found in them are believed, therefore, to belong to the period between 936 and 1010. Among the finds from Madīnat az-Zahrā are mold-blown bowls with the same form as the bowl from Besalú. The shape of these bowls is described by Enrique Rontomé Notario as the most characteristic glass form in the Córdoba caliphate.<sup>8</sup>

As well as vessels with mold-blown ornament, the bowls from Madīnat az-Zahrā include several relief-cut vessels. One is decorated with “tree of life” motifs, which divide at the top into a pair of scrolls, each with two half-palmettes (Fig. 6). To judge from a photograph published in 1912, it has rather thick outlines and no notches. Another bowl has four vegetal motifs containing

7. On the sack of Córdoba, see Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy, *L'Histoire des musulmanes d'Espagne: Jusqu'à la conquête de l'Andalousie par les Almoravides (711–1110)*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1861, v. 3, pp. 295–298; on Madīnat az-Zahrā glasses, see Enrique Rontomé Notario, “Vidrios califales de Madīnat al-Zahra,” in *El vidrio en al-Andalus*, ed. Patrice Cressier, Madrid:

Casa de Velázquez–Fundación Centro Nacional del Vidrio, 2000, pp. 103–115; and *idem*, “El vidrio andalusí,” in *Vidrio islámico en el-Andalus*, ed. Enrique Rontomé Notario and Paloma Pastor Rey de Viñas, Cuenca: Fundación Centro Nacional del Vidrio, 2006, pp. 37–45, esp. p. 39.

8. Rontomé Notario [note 7], p. 39.

half-palmettes, all defined by narrow outlines embellished with notches.<sup>9</sup> Despite the occurrence of the shape among local mold-blown glasses, Rontomé Notario and others are confident that these objects were imported, either from Fatimid Egypt or from farther east; they point to the Egyptian or Iranian origin of the ornament and the quality of the glass, which is superior to that of locally produced glassware.<sup>10</sup>

Nevertheless, for the reasons stated above, we disagree with the view that the bowl from Besalú was made in Egypt or Iran, and we suspect that it may have been made in the Maghreb or al-Andalus.

### *When Did the Bowl Reach Besalú?*

The parish church of Sant Vicenç, the find-place of the bowl, was one of several medieval religious buildings at Besalú. The historical record suggests that Sant Vicenç was erected in the 10th century;<sup>11</sup> the earliest reference to it was in 977.<sup>12</sup> Examination of the surviving fabric shows that the church was completely remodeled in the 12th and 13th centuries.<sup>13</sup> In any

case, it is interesting that the first references to the church are of approximately the date to which we attribute the bowl. This might lead us to conjecture that the bowl was deposited as a reliquary when one of the altars in the church was consecrated in the 10th or 11th century, although we have no record of either the consecration of altars or similar ceremonies at this date.<sup>14</sup>

There is, however, also evidence of a church dedicated to San Rafael in 977. San Rafael was founded by Bonfill, count of Besalú and bishop of Girona. By 999, there were four altars in the city: San Rafael, San Julián, San Benedicto, and San Ciro.<sup>15</sup> Evidently, the growth of Besalú in the last quarter of the 10th century led to an increase in the number of altars, each of which needed to be consecrated.<sup>16</sup> In theory, the bowl could have been used as a reliquary at the consecration of any of these churches, or presented to Sant Vicenç on some later occasion.

Finally, we should remember the creation, in 1017, of the short-lived diocese of Besalú, promoted by Count Bernat Tallaferro and confirmed by Pope Benedict VIII (r. 1012–1024). The diocese was suppressed in 1020. One of the

9. Bowl with “tree of life” motifs: D. Ricardo Velázquez Bosco, *Arte del Califato de Córdoba: Medina Azzahra y Alamiyia*, Madrid: José Blass y Cía, 1912, p. 83, figs. 46 and 48, and pl. 55; bowl with notched outlines: Ana Zamorano in *Vidrio islámico en el-Andalus* [note 7], p. 151, no. 92; argument against production in southern Spain: Rontomé Notario [note 7], esp. pp. 112–113.

10. Rontomé Notario [note 7], p. 112. It is worth recalling, however, that raw glass was an item of trade: see, for example, George F. Bass and others, *Serçe Limani*, v. 2, *The Glass of an Eleventh-Century Shipwreck*, College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2009, pp. 441–456. It would not be surprising if a workshop that specialized in making fine cut glass imported superior material, just as a jeweler or ivory carver imported gemstones or ivory.

11. J. L. Ametlla Vela, “Sant Vincenç de Besalú,” in *La Garrotxa* [note 1], pp. 182–184; Laura Bartolomé Roviras, “*Ecclesiam parrochiale nuncupatam Sancti Vincentii*,” La seqüència arquitectònica i ornamental de Sant Vincenç de Besalú entre els segles X–XIII,” in *La parròquia de Sant Vicenç, un eix social i artístic en la història de Besalú*, Besalú: Ajuntament de Besalú–Diputació de Girona, 2008, pp. 45–81.

12. In that year, Miró Bonfill, bishop of Girona (r. 970–984) and count of Cerdanya, Conflent, and Besalú (r. 968–984), founded the *canònica* of Sant Miquel and Sant Genís at Besalú and gave it the church of Sant Vicenç. At the same time, there

is a record of a church dedicated to Saint Raphael in Sant Vicenç: see Pierre de Marca and Etienne Baluze, *Marca Hispanica sive Limes Hispanicus*, Paris, 1688, appendix cxxi, cols. 912–914; Francisco Monsalvatje y Fossas, *Besalú: Su historia, sus condes, su opibado y sus monumentos*, Noticias Históricas, v. 2, Olot: Juan-Bonet, 1890, v. 2, p. 79; *idem*, *Colección diplomática del condado de Besalú*, Noticias Históricas, v. 11, Olot: Juan-Bonet, 1901, pp. 225–227, doc. 168; J. M. Pons i Gurí and H. Palou i Miquel, eds., *Un cartoral de la canónica agustiniana de Santa María del castell de Besalú (siglos X–XV)*, Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2002, pp. 23–26, doc. 2; and J. Colomer Casamitjana, “*Comorante in parrochia Sancti Vincentii de Bisuldumo*,” L’església i la parròquia de Sant Vicenç de Besalú a l’època medieval (s. X–XV), in *La parròquia de Sant Vicenç* [note 11], p. 13.

13. Bartolomé Roviras [note 11], pp. 54–60.

14. This possible use was noted by Font [note 1], p. xxxiii. In the mouth of the bowl are traces of what may be chrism used in the consecration of the altar.

15. De Marca and Baluze [note 12], cols. 955–957.

16. Bartolomé Roviras [note 11], p. 53. On the altars in Sant Vicenç, see M. A. Fumanal Pagès, “*Opus Feliciter Valeat Consumari*,” Culte i art a Sant Vicenç de Besalú Durant la baixa edat mitjana (s. XIII–XV), in *La parròquia de Sant Vicenç* [note 11], pp. 83–116.

most interesting aspects of this initiative in the count's ancestral home was the construction and dedication of churches, priests' houses (*canòniques*), and one or more monasteries in Besalú in order to establish his residence as the hub of the diocese he intended to create. This process entailed the acquisition of important relics by members of the count's immediate family. They included relics of San Primo, which the bishop, Miró Bonfill, deposited in the monastery of Sant Pere, which he had founded in 977.<sup>17</sup> We should also mention a fragment of wood from the True Cross, which Tallaferro brought from Rome in 1016, and which his son, Count Guillem I (r. 1020–1052), presented to the *canònica* of Sant Miquel and Sant Genís, another of Bonfill's endowments.<sup>18</sup> And finally, relics of "Sant Esteve papa" (Pope Stephen I, r. 254–257) were donated to the same *canònica*, through the generosity of Tallaferro, sometime before 1017.<sup>19</sup>

We think it is possible that the bowl was given to Sant Vicenç during the process, promoted by the counts of Besalú, of creating the new diocese, endowing churches, and donating relics. This endeavor was initiated by Miró Bonfill and continued by his successor, Bernat Tallaferro,

until his accidental death in 1020. His demise put an end to the counts' ambitious project to have a diocese based in Besalú. No document records the donation of relics to Sant Vicenç in this period, but the fact that this church had already been favored by the family in the 10th century allows one to suppose that it may have received similar endowments during the promotion of the diocese, such as occurred with the monastery of Sant Pere and the *canònica* of Sant Miquel and Sant Genís.<sup>20</sup>

Indeed, looking at the big picture, we should not dismiss the idea that the bowl reached Besalú, between 1017 and 1020, as part of the religious activities of Counts Miró Bonfill and Bernat Tallaferro. This suggested date coincides with the appearance elsewhere in Catalonia of similar objects, and with the sack of Córdoba in 1010, in which Bernat Tallaferro participated.<sup>21</sup> There may, therefore, have been a specific context for the donation to the church of Sant Vicenç of an Islamic relief-cut bowl, which otherwise might be supposed to have reached north-eastern Catalonia as a result of trade or gift exchange between Catalans and the Andalusian caliphate.<sup>22</sup>

17. Josep M. Salrach Marés, "El monestir de Sant Pere de Besalú i les relíquies de Sant Prim. Iatge pels misteris de a Fe de la política mil anys enrrera," in *Relíquies i arquitectura monàstica a Besalú*, ed. Gerardo Boto Varela, Besalú: Ajuntament de Besalú, 2006, pp. 9–34; J. Valero Molina, "Art i devoció a Besalú a l'època baixmedieval," in *ibid.*, pp. 73–74.

18. G. Boto Varela, "El temple abacial de Sant Pere. Facultats representatives i caracterització funcional," in Boto Varela [note 17], pp. 41–42; Nazaret Gallego Aguilera, *Santa Maria de Besalú: Arquitectura, poder i reforma (segles X–XII)*, Besalú: Amics de Besalú i el seu Comtat, 2007, pp. 97–98 and 115–126.

19. Gallego Aguilera [note 18], pp. 76, 97, and 118.

20. This was supposed by Bartolomé Roviras [note 11], p. 52. However, the only recorded gift of relics to the church of Sant Vicenç in the Middle Ages was the remains of "sant Vicenç capellà" that are still preserved in a reliquary bust of the 15th century. The remains were donated by Pere Rovira, who brought them from the monastery of Sant Serni de Tavèrnoles at Lleida: Valero Molina [note 17], pp. 79–80; Fumanal Pagès [note 16], pp. 92–105.

21. On the expedition, see Dozy [note 7]; S. Sanpere i Miquel, "El año de los catalanes," *Revista de Ciencias Históricas* (Barcelona), v. 4, 1886, pp. 34–35; Ferran Soldevila, *Història*

*de Catalunya*, Barcelona: Editorial Alpha, 1962, p. 90; and R. Ordeig i Mata, "Documentys vigatans relatius a l'expedició militar dels Catalans a Còrdova l'any 1010," *Ausa*, nos. 108/109, 1984, pp. 183–195.

22. Jaime Barrachina defends the view that, among the Islamic objects held in Catalonia, there are certainly few from the sack of 1010, and most of them are related to simple commercial exchange: "Objectes artístics d'importació," in *Del romà al romànic: Historia, art i cultura de la Tarraconense Mediterrània entre els segles IV i X*, ed. A. Pladevall and P. Palol, Barcelona: Enciclopedia Catalana, 1999, p. 455. See also Manuel Casamar Pérez and Fernando Valdés Fernández, "Saqueo o comercio: La difusión del arte fatimí en la Península Ibérica," in *La Península Ibérica y el Mediterráneo entre los siglos XI y XII. Almanzor y los terrors del milenio*, Aguilar de Campo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 1999, pp. 133–160; Juan Zozaya Stabel-Hansen, "Importaciones casuales en al-Andalus: Las vías de comercio," in *Actas del IV Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española*, Alicante: Caja de Ahorros del Mediterráneo, v. 1, 1993, pp. 119–138; and J. C. Ruiz Souza, "Botín de guerra y tesoro sagrado," in *Maravillas de la España medieval: Tesoro sagrado y monarquía*, Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2001, pp. 31–39.



